

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 22825 01 OF 02 051938Z

71

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 CU-02

SAJ-01 IO-13 AF-08 NEA-10 /093 W

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R 051922Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3698

INFO ALL EC CAPITALS 0144

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 22825

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, EC, FR

SUBJECT: CSCE: FRENCH WORKING PAPER FOR BELGRADE

REF: STATE 193635 (NOTAL), (B) DUBLIN 1427

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: WHILE WE DO NOT HAVE NINE'S CSCE REPORT, REQUESTED REF A, QUAI CSCE COORDINATOR HAS GIVEN US VERBAL RUN-DOWN OF FRENCH WORKING PAPER, WHICH IS ONE OF ITS INGREDIENTS. AS REF B INDICATED, FRENCH PAPER STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF ASSURING THAT BELGRADE IS NOT MERELY USED FOR BROAD EXCHANGES ON DETENTE, BUT IN FACT PERFORMS REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AS FORE-SEEN IN FINAL ACT. IT ALSO CONTAINS NUMBER OF OTHER GENERAL AND MORE DETAILED IDEAS REFLECTING CURRENT STATE OF THINKING AT QUAI. DEPARTMENT SHOULD ALSO TAKE NOTE OF QUAI COMMENT ON MEDITERRANEAN PARTICIPATION AT BELGRADE. END SUMMARY.

2. QUAI'S CSCE COORDINATOR BEAUCHATAUD SUMMARIZED FRENCH WORKING PAPER ON BELGRADE AS FOLLOWS:

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PAGE 02 PARIS 22825 01 OF 02 051938Z

3. GENERAL OBJECTIVES:

-- BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE SHOULD CONFORM TO INTENTIONS BASKET IV OF FINAL ACT BY MAINTAINING LINK AND BALANCE BETWEEN DISCUSSION OF DETENTE IN GLOBAL SENSE AND EXAMINATION OF CONCRETE EUROPEAN PROBLEMS WHICH CALL FOR IMPLEMENTATION.

-- CONFERENCE SHOULD ALSO PRESERVE THRUST TOWARD BUILDING "EUROPE", WHICH SHOULD NOT BE COMPROMISED BY PAN-EUROPEAN PROJECTS, I.E., BREZHNEV'S "THREE CONFERENCE PROPOSALS", LAUNCHED BY USSR (SEPTEL).

-- MEETING, AS FRENCH HAVE ALWAYS ARGUED, SHOULD ALSO AVOID BLOC-TO-BLOC APPROACH. BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ARE PREFERABLE IN ANY CASE.

-- WESTERN PRESENTATIONS AT BELGRADE SHOULD NOT BE TOO ESOTERIC, SINCE ONE OF MAIN BELGRADE OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE THAT WEST'S APPROACH BE CLEARLY UNDERSTANDABLE TO PUBLIC OPINION. ONE APPROACH MIGHT BE NOT TO HIDE BELGRADE MEETINGS BEHIND CLOSED DOORS.

-- WEST MIGHT ALSO CONSIDER PRESENTING ITS OWN IDEAS, REGARDLESS OF BLOC INITIATIVES, BUT BEING CAREFUL NOT TO REOPEN SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS COULD INVOLVE CONSIDERATION OF CERTAIN EAST-WEST CONFERENCES, TO COUNTER BREZHNEV'S PROPOSALS, OR EXPERTS MEETING ON BASKET III IMPLEMENTATION, AS LONG AS SUCH COMMITTEES DO NOT LEAD TO "INSTITUTIONALIZATION."

4. AS FOR WORKING METHODS AND CONCRETE PROBLEMS WHICH WILL ARISE AT BELGRADE, FRENCH PAPER IS DESCRIBED AS MAKING FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- SUBSTANCE OF BELGRADE DISCUSSION SHOULD IN FIRST INSTANCE REMAIN FOCUSED ON CONCRETE EXAMINATION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL BASKETS AND, ONLY IN SECOND PLACE ON DISCUSSION OF DETENTE.

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PAGE 03 PARIS 22825 01 OF 02 051938Z

-- FRENCH REMAIN UNDECIDED AS BETWEEN BELGRADE ORGANIZATIONAL PREFERENCE FOR LARGE PLENARY SESSION AS AGAINST COMMISSION SYSTEM AS DEVELOPED AT GENEVA. THE LATTER WAS QUICKER AND MORE PRECISE; THE FORMER WOULD BE SLOWER AND HARDER TO FOLLOW AND TO CONTROL. HOWEVER, QUAI RETAINS OPEN MIND.

-- REGARDING FURTHER REVIEW CONFERENCES, FRENCH ARE  
WILLING TO AGREE TO ONE OTHER SUCH MEETING IN TWO  
YEARS' TIME, BUT WILL NOT ACCEPT PRINCIPLE OF  
PERIODICITY OR A NEW CSCE CONFERENCE.

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PAGE 01 PARIS 22825 02 OF 02 051942Z

71  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3699  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 22825

-- FRENCH ALSO SKEPTICAL ABOUT CERTAIN PROPOSALS  
TO MODIFY (NOT RENEGOTIATE) ASPECTS OF THE FINAL  
ACT, FOR INSTANCE THE IDEA QUAI SAYS IS SUPPORTED  
BY FRG, UK AND DUTCH, TO MAKE CBM UNDERSTANDINGS  
MORE PRECISE.

-- AS FOR TIMING AND DURATION, FRENCH PAPER ASSUMES  
THE PREPARATORY MEETING WILL START ON JUNE 15. CON-  
FERENCE ITSELF SHOULD THEN CONVENE AT BEGINNING OF  
OCTOBER, BUT AFTER THE UN HAS CONVENED IN NEW YORK.  
ADJOURNMENT DATE SHOULD BE AGREED TO IN THE PREPARA-  
TORY SESSION, TO PREVENT FILIBUSTERING. CONFERENCE  
SHOULD IN ANY CASE ADJOURN BEFORE CHRISTMAS.

-- REGARDING PARTICIPATION, PAPER ASSUMES IT WILL BE SAME AS AT HELSINKI. (DEPARTMENT SHOULD NOTE HOWEVER THAT, IN COMMENTING ON POINT, BEAUCHATAUD ADDED THAT YUGOSLAVS HAD SOME TIME AGO APPROACHED FRENCH ON BEHALF OF BROADENED ROLE FOR MEDITERRANEAN  
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PAGE 02 PARIS 22825 02 OF 02 051942Z

STATES AND THAT QUAI "MAY BE PREPARED TO TRY TO GIVE THEM SOME SATISFACTION." EMBOFF RECALLED SOME OF PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED THIS RESPECT AT GENEVA, WITH WHICH BEAUCHATAUD WAS NOT PERSONALLY FAMILIAR. HE DID RECOGNIZE THAT BROADENED MEDITERRANEAN ROLE WOULD, INTER ALIA, ENCOURAGE NEW MALTESE OFFENSIVE ON THEME OF MAKING MEDITERRANEAN INTO A "LAKE OF PEACE", WITH WHICH EAST BLOCK MAY NOW BE MORE SYMPATHETIC. DISCUSSION CONCLUDED ON NOTE THAT BEAUCHATAUD WOULD GIVE THIS ISSUE FURTHER THOUGHT AND KEEP US INFORMED.) QUESTION IN ANY CASE NOT LIKELY TO BECOME ACTIVE BEFORE FALL.

-- CONCERNING DOCUMENT PRODUCED BY BELGRADE CONFERENCE, FRENCH DRAFT CONSIDERS IT SHOULD NOT HAVE SAME, BUT CLEARLY LOWER STANDING THAN HELSINKI FINAL ACT. FRENCH ALSO BELIEVE EFFORTS TO ISSUE MORE THAN ONE DOCUMENT SHOULD BE RESISTED, PARTICULARLY IF THIS SHOULD MEAN SEPARATING THE CONFERENCE REPORT ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION FROM STATEMENT ON DETENTE. CARE SHOULD ALSO BE TAKEN THAT WORK OF PREPARATORY MEETING REMAIN SUFFICIENTLY GENERAL SO AS NOT TO PREJUDICE CONFERENCE DECISIONS, OR INVOLVE NEGOTIATING OF CONFERENCE CONCLUSIONS. BOTH SHOULD BE CLEARLY RESERVED FOR CONFERENCE ITSELF.

-- ADEQUATE ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD ALSO BE MADE FOR MEANINGFUL PUBLICITY, SINCE WEST SHOULD HAVE LEARNED FROM PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED THIS RESPECT AFTER HELSINKI.

5. COMMENT: ABOVE IS BASED ONLY ON VERBAL SUMMARY OF FRENCH WORKING PAPER AS PRESENTED BEAUCHATAUD AND NOT ON TEXT ITSELF.

6. FOR DEPARTMENT, USNATO AND EC BRUSSELS: WE TOO WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING COPY OF EC WORKING PAPER, AND ANY OTHER SIGNIFICANT CSCE DRAFTS PREPARED BY FRENCH OR NINE AVAILABLE ELSEWHERE TO CONSERVE TIME IN EVOLVING CSCE EXCHANGE WITH QUAI.

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PAGE 03 PARIS 22825 02 OF 02 051942Z

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